1: Belgrave

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/For implicit information concerning the effect of contact with the West, in the form of Portugese mariners, the British Empire and the oil industry,/ see category 116, complete text. /

In complexion the people vary greatly, some, especially those who work in offices, are very fair, while the African element in the population has produced the opposite colouring. During the past ten years the fashion among the men of Bahrain for wearing partly European dress has developed rapidly, mainly due to the operations of the oil company, where long flowing robes are not only a nuisance but often dangerous. The older men, however, and the members of the Ruling Family still wear the traditional Arab dress which can be seen in its full glory in the picture of H.H. The Ruler. The basic garment is the "thobe," a long shirt fastened up to the neck, above it comes a cloak of brown, white or black wool, with gold braided edges, the "bisht" or "aba". On the head is a small skull cap, not usually visible, over which is a white or coloured headcloth "gutra' held in place by means of a black or white wool ring, called "agal." The last was originally a camel hobble which the bedouin in the desert used to wear on their heads when travelling, removing it when in camp, but today it has lost its original use and is just an article of attire. Members of the Ruling Family, all of whom use the title "Shaikh," wear gold head-rings on formal occasions, while H.H. The Ruler and the senior members of the family wear swords and daggers in gold scabbards.

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The purdah system still exists in Bahrain, although it is gradually being modified, and women are veiled when they appear in public; the more old fashioned wearing black masks concealing the upper part of the face, the younger contenting themselves with veils of black net. Although many women in the towns wear European clothes, nylons and cosmetics, they never appear outside their houses without a voluminious black cloak which covers them from the tops of their heads to the ground. In the country the Baharna women wear a large square shawl, black, blue or sometimes brightly covered, which conceals the clothes they wear. Despite the impression which may have been given by this description of veiling still current in Bahrain, the women of the country are now living a much wider life than formerly. Many girls go to the schools where as well as doing lessons they play games and do gymnastics, and what they learn at school gives them more interests at home when they marry. Family parties are commoner and husbands will now allow themselves to be seen driving with their wives in cars, which some years ago was almost unknown. In many ways the life of the women of Bahrain is improving. However, a fact that visitors to Bahrain should remember is that attempts to take photographs of women are usually strongly resented though the ordinary Arab male is fairly immune to the photographic enthusiasm of visiting Europeans.

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In Bahrain, unlike most other parts of the Arab World, the upper classes of Arab society have retained their traditional dress, while the working classes have adopted shirts and trousers. A result of this is that one should not be surprised if young men dressed in Arab clothes speak excellent English, know much about European history, French cooking and American enterprise, for they have probably been educated at the American University of Beirut or in Egypt or England. The

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young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

CHAPTER III

THE STATE

BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

level of the ground. Every 10-20 yards along the length of the channels are airholes, round chimneys lined with stone and varying in diameter from 2 to 5 feet. The top of the shaft, which resembles a well head, is surrounded by a low wall. Page 116 shows the channel which has been uncovered and in which the construction of the airholes can clearly be seen. At the shaft of the water channel which runs west of the village of Shakhura there is a large subterranean room which serves the purpose of a bathing hall. It has a high arched roof with columns branching out from a central pillar. It is roofed over and has a hard gypsum floor covered with fine white sand. There is a continual stream of cold water through the chamber, which is still used by the inhabitants from the surrounding villages as a bathing place to which they go in the heat of the summer and sit in comfort in the shady coolness below. It is rumoured that there are more such chambers, but this is the only one that the author has personally visited.

The channels in most cases carry water from springs in the hills a few miles inland to the coastal gardens. Many of them are still used, although others have long since fallen into ruin, but very skilful work was involved in their building and the fact that water still flows in many of them is a conclusive proof of their scientific construction. So far, no inscriptions have been found within them, but there is no doubt that if they were examined with care some signs would be found of their exact origin.

In these four sections most of the antiquities of the Bahrain Islands have been described, for they are unfortunately rare and, with the exception of the Tumuli, the mosques, the forts and the Qanats there, is little of archaeological interest in Bahrain. There are possibilities of future discoveries, however, especially in Bilad al-Qadim which should, as the ancient capital, yield something of interest to any archaeologist who explores its ruins. The numerous Arabic inscriptions would also be worth further study and their translation should add something to the history of Bahrain by giving the names of the various rulers who, at one time or another, built mosques or other buildings and had their good deed inscribed on stone.

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In addition to these works a number of books appear in the general bibliography at the end of this guide which may be consulted for further information about Bahrain's antiquities.

875 **Teachers Training Courses.** Eight students graduated at the end of the school year from the teachers training class for secondary school students. They were posted to village and primary schools. At the beginning of the next term fifteen new students joined the class.

Evening classes for teachers were held during the term with an examination for certificates on the completion of the course.

Special Courses. In March, 1953, for the fourth time, the British Council Representative in Basra arranged a week's English course in Bahrain. This time the course was taken by Mr. W. R. Keight, M.B.E., of the British Council and Mr. W. Hedley, the British teacher lent by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The aim of the course was to teach masters and students in training for teachers, the correct use of the Oxford University English Course books.

In the summer eleven senior primary school teachers attended a refresher course at the American University of Beirut which was arranged for teachers from Bahrain and other Arab states. They lived in the British Council Hostel and had their meals in the University.

873 **Higher Education.** Four more boys, who passed out of the Secondary School, went to Beirut University for further education, three of them had scholarships from the Government and one had a scholarship from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two students were nominated for scholarships in Baghdad schools, allocated by the Government of Iraq to boys from Bahrain. One of these boys, however, did not take up the scholarship but entered the American University of Beirut at his own expense.

Again some of the Shaikhs and merchants sent their sons, sometimes after finishing only primary education, to schools and colleges abroad, in Beirut, Syria, Egypt and England, in one case a member of the Ruling Family was sent to a University in America. Privately made arrangements for educating young men abroad are not always successful, students who go to Europe, not under the auspices of the Government, seem disinclined to stick to one line of learning, sometimes they wander from one school to another which is an expensive waste of time.

873 177 185 It is very doubtful whether at present the education of Bahrain boys at schools in England is beneficial to them or desirable. A few boys who were at school in England have returned to Bahrain and if they can be taken as typical of the results of a European education then it is clear that the experiment is not usually successful. Parents, who in many cases have never been in Europe, send their sons to English schools with the hope that they will return equipped and eager to help their fathers in their business. The boys return. They have acquired some education, sufficient to make them critical and contemptuous of many things in their own homes and country, they resent having to resume the life which they used to lead and they have no inclination to settle down in Bahrain.

871 The Bahrain schools provide primary education for all and secondary education for a limited number of boys. The standard of education is about on a level with that in similar schools in other states in the Middle East. It is not proposed that higher education should be introduced in Bahrain, this can be obtained in neighbouring Arab countries, particularly at the American University of Beirut where 31 boys from Bahrain are now studying, 16 hold scholarships from the Government, four have scholarships from the Bahrain Petroleum Company and 11 are studying there at their own expense. In addition, the Government has sent six young men to study religion in Mecca and in Iraq.

872 Another 20 Bahrain boys are being educated, at their own expense, in schools and colleges in England and in the Middle East.

658 The policy of the Government is to give scholarships for higher education to boys from Bahrain schools to universities in the Middle East; it does not send boys to schools in England. It does, however, send young men from various government departments to do courses in England in the type of work on which they are employed in Bahrain. These candidates are sent at Government expense or, sometimes, they are granted bursaries by the British Council. This arrangement has produced satisfactory results in the case of men from the Passport Department, Municipalities, Technical School, Electric Department, Public Works Department and State Police. Men who have held positions of some responsibility for some years in Government service are improved by such courses in England and do not return to Bahrain with unsettled minds.

Sales and Land Values. The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off; several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

A recent satisfactory development has been the demand by working class men to buy small building plots in Manama, Muharraq, Hidd and Rafaa. The building loan schemes of the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company have stimulated this development. At one time people were satisfied to live in hired houses or barastis for which they paid rent but now, partly owing to the rapaciousness of landlords and partly because it has become everyone's ambition to own the house in which he lives, there is an active demand for plots of ground on which small houses can be built. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around Manama and nobody wishes to live even at a short distance from the bazaar, the schools and the cinemas.

The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3,50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

Legislation. In Safar (October 1952) an important Ordinance was issued which prohibited all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction from disposing of any property except to Bahrain subjects. An extension of this order was issued later providing for the contingency of heirs in an estate of a Bahrain subject being themselves foreign subjects. The result of these Ordinances was that not only were Bahrain subjects restricted from selling their property to foreigners but all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction, Persians, subjects of Saudi Arabia and of other Gulf States, were restricted from selling their property to each other or to nationals of other countries. Only foreigners not under the jurisdiction of the Bahrain Courts were free to sell their property to other foreigners. The object of the Government is to prevent land in Bahrain from being alienated and it is hoped that in future this legislation will be further extended to preclude all foreigners in Bahrain from disposing of their property to any persons who are not Bahrain subjects.

The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

One of the reasons why the Government now has so little land at its disposal in Manama and on the outskirts of the town is because in the past large pieces of land were either sold or given to Persians and Saudi Arabians. In the former category is one of the principal landowners in the town. The only area of any size, suitable for development as a housing area, is the land on the south-west of Manama which is now occupied by the installations of Cable and Wireless Ltd. Arrangements are being made for the Company to move out into the country to a site on the Aali plain, but this move will take some time to be carried out.

Rents of Government Shops. The Department collected rents amounting to Rs. 51,000/- from the shops in Barrett Road and from the flat above the Post Office and Rs. 20,000/- from rents of 26 plots of land which were let on leases. Temporary leases of land produced Rs. 3,800.

653 As usual, the activities of the Department[1] were diverse and far-reaching. The chief "new" construction works consisted of the completion of flats for investment at Muharraq and Rafaa Road ; offices in Barrett Road ; quarters for masters over the Technical School Workshop ; new private wards at the Hospital; the carrying on of work to the new Palace and additional quarters for masters over the Technical School itself, and the starting of a block of Staff Quarters at Quarantine site, Quadabiya. Very extensive works were also carried out for Customs ; four more stores sheds being erected, a large area of sea reclaimed, and a new jetty for local craft being started. For this Department, several other smaller, but important, works were also done. A larger amount than usual of simple construction work was let to contractors, including 36 workmen's houses, 43 houses for the Police, and various village dispensaries. It is argueable if the results are really satisfactory, and although money may be saved, it is possible only at the expense of a good standard of work. As usual, much work was done for the Electricity Department ; and agricultural development was greatly assisted. The amount of maintenance and decorating was, needless to say, higher than ever before ; and it has to be admitted that over this the Department failed, to some extent, to give a really good service. Fair service was given, but often the quality of work was indifferent. The construction of new roads and pavements, and the maintenance of those existing was energetically carried on. The main water supply was operated very successfully. A much larger amount of water was supplied—both to paying and non-paying consumers—and the accounts of the Water Supply Department (given later) are really encouraging.

653 Every year the Department tackles a few jobs of unusual character. Of chief interest this
• 177 year may be mentioned the two large roofs of the new Palace. These are of Mansard design,
342 each 90 feet long, and with a clear span of 32 feet. Sixteen timber trusses were made, hoisted, and placed in position, 26 feet above ground, thanks to the invaluable assistance of the Bahrain Petroleum Company who kindly loaned a mobile crane with a 70 feet jib. The actual time spent on hoisting and fixing was just over twelve hours. Purlins and common rafters were fixed, and the roofs were then close-boarded, felted, counter-battened and battened. Later, green glazed pantiles were fixed. This was the first roofing job of its kind ever done in Bahrain; and it was gratifying to note how quickly the local tradesmen learned to tackle the work. The trusses were well and accurately made ; and the tiling—although done during Ramadhan and in very hot weather—took rather less than three weeks, and the result compares well with tiled roofs constructed anywhere.

000 In conclusion, 1372 has been a year of fair progress, but with some disappointing features. Much was satisfactorily accomplished ; but some results fell short of what is desirable. The very rapid expansion of the Department in the preceding five years is beginning to put a big and increasing strain on its organisation. Such success as there has been this year is largely due to excellent work done by Mr. L. Harris, Assistant to Officer-in-Charge, P.W.D. (who not only ran the Water Supply Department so well but also took charge of P.W.D. for three months at the end of the year) ; Mr. Ahmed Darwish, Office Superintendent (deservedly upgraded from Head Clerk during the year) ; a small number of hard working overseers, foremen, store-keepers and clerks and a nucleus of well proved tradesmen of long service.

Further commitments for P.W.D. are obviously bigger than ever before. To assist in meeting these, some addition to British personnel has been arranged. Extensions to the offices were built late in the year, to provide accommodation and to relieve the congestion in the old office. It is hoped that with the new staff and as a result of more local men taking courses in England, the Department will still prove capable of meeting its obligations and maintaining its tradition for good work and efficient service; and that it will continue to set an example of good workmanship and decent and appropriate design.

1 [The Public Works Department -- Analyst]

5: Bahrain G-5 (192(-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

369 178 in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern countries, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

291 ●177 To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to Central European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

511 Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15/-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

352 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Meglis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

7:Khadduri S-4 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
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and the Wahhabi Amirs. It was partly owing to this threat of neighboring rulers, but mainly to internal feud among members of the Khalifa family (chiefs of the Utubi tribes) that Great Britain found ample reasons for intervention.

In 1820, when Great Britain had already made her appearance on the scene in the Persian Gulf, the chiefs of Bahrayn sought British support for security from outside attack as well as for internal stability. This coincided with Britain's interests in the security of her trade relations and in the suppression of piracy and the slave trade in the Persian Gulf. It was in pursuance of this objective that Britain signed the first of a series of treaties with the Shaykhs of Bahrayn without encroaching upon their independence; but these treaties resulted later in the gradual change of the islands from independent to dependent status.

The foregoing brief sketch shows that Bahrayn, during its long and checkered history, was able to maintain a large measure of internal independence even when it had fallen under foreign control. Apart from its uncertain status in antiquity, which is hardly necessary to determine for our purpose, the islands passed under Arab rule at the opening of the seventh century and remained, either as an integral part of the Arab Empire or as a semi-independent entity, until the sixteenth century. Arab rule, accordingly, may be said to have lasted for more than eight centuries. The Portuguese rule roughly lasted for a century (*circa* 1507 to 1622), and the Persian rule (1622–1783) for a little over one and a half century. From a purely historical standpoint, the Persian period has left no special impact on the inhabitants of the islands, whether racial or cultural, which would distinguish it from other periods. Contrary to the Iranian contention (as stated in its note of August 2, 1928), the inhabitants of the islands have either originally migrated from Arabia or have been Arabicized under long Arab rule. They speak the Arabic language, though many of them speak Persian too, and their manners and customs are Arabian. Finally, they have been ruled since 1783 by their own Arab chiefs, even though they acknowledged British protection—a period which lasted longer than that of Persian rule. Iran's historical claim, based on a very limited past attachment, seems to carry with it the air of propaganda; it could hardly challenge Arab historical claims.

IV. British Protection

From the time when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 a period of Anglo-French rivalry for the domination of Eastern waters began, and the Persian Gulf was but one portion of the field in which the struggle was fought out. When Napoleon had been eliminated, the Eastern waters, including the Persian Gulf, became an undisputed field of British influence and commerce. Britain began to prepare the way by combatting piracy and the

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the servile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act as the majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

The Utab, if not the largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that the Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.*

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

As has been shown, among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

* Most of the Dawasir returned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926-1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8–9.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS

563 167 463 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in [601] Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade: the majority are white-collar workers.

563 875 208 177 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV): in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

Table IV. FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

Year	*Egypt*	*Syria*	*Lebanon*	*Palestine*	*Other Arab Countries*	*Other Nationalities*	*Total*
1944/45.....	12	3	12	—	—	2	28
1945/46.....	10	—	13	..	1	2	26
1946/47.....	13	9	12	—	1	2	37
1947/48.....	11	7	14	—	1	2	35
1948/49.....	22	6	14	—	1	3	46
1949/50.....	20	7	14	9	1	3	54
1950/51.....	9	9	15	10	1	3	47
1951/52.....	9	7	27	18	2	4	67

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii. p. 346 f.

Population

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Bahārinah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah, Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anas, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribes: the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comparatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

Industries and Trade

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the